



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

First Hague Conference. It is timely to call attention to the fifteen cases of disputes settled effectively by this arbitration tribunal, which was indeed fully competent to have settled the initial dispute in the present world conflict. Our young people should know of the proposed World Court, accepted in principle at the Second Hague Conference, and which is, among all the factors entering into a permanent peace plan, the one universally accepted. A Peace Day exercise this year offers a great opportunity to take note of these solid foundations of law and order.

On those who administer education in this critical time rests the responsibility of preserving and advancing those ideals for which all nations should strive and of establishing an unbroken unity of youthful civic service and devotion to the nation's welfare. May we in our hour of test still be able to maintain the American ideal of democracy, and may the teachers of America continue to be the consecrated servants of the democratic ideal. God grant that on the pages of the world's history the United States will stand out as a nation which remained true to its purpose in the service of humanity.

A LAYMAN'S PETITION

By CLARKE F. HUNN

You who have placed us here, where we shall one day learn the lesson of brotherhood toward each other and oneness with You, hear our affirmation of that which is already visible to You in our hearts. Know that we are conscious of our errantry in that which we now do. Know that we are conscious that this is not Your way, or the way that we would take were we of Your stature. Know that we take this way of war because we can see no other. We are blind, feeble, and incomplete. We have striven and have failed because the simplicity of Your teaching has not yet penetrated the maze of our man-made complexities, because we have not yet banished fear and resentment and the will to judge.

We know that we need not ask from You, but have only to take that which You hold out to us; but we do ask that in the asking our realization of that which we most truly desire may be more clear to our thought and more truly fixed in our hearts. Therefore do we ask that You aid us to refrain from calling upon You in this war; that You aid us to realize that You have no part in the war which we have made; that You are above and beyond war, waiting till this fit of human wilfulness and ignorance be ended, ready ever to aid the individual in his feeble struggle toward You, whether he be in war or at peace, but marshaling no armies, safeguarding no hosts, swearing no allegiance to flag or nation. We ask You to keep within our thought the fact that You are there, waiting for each one of us to awaken from this nightmare, to seek You in humility and understanding, each in his own way; and to help us to remember that in Your sight are neither ally nor enemy, but only those who will to see and those who will to remain blind, each alike children of Your compassion. Finally, do we ask You to make us eager to put aside this phantom of hate and wilfulness, when in good time we shall have learned from it the lesson that we chose not to learn in peaceful

ways; and we ask that You may keep us ever anxious to temper our hostility with mercy and forgiveness, as one who does what he must, but does that duty with reluctance born of the knowledge that his action is imperfect and distasteful in Your sight. Help us to feel the pain of those whom we smite, to grieve in the grief of those whom we bereave, to bind up the wounds we have inflicted. We are children quarreling in the dark. Help us to know this and to understand our negligence!

NATIONAL SERVICE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

By GEORGE A. WALTON
Principal, The George School, Newton, Pa.

THE conscientious objection to war is only in part a personal matter. The objector's self-respect cannot survive, committing murder under compulsion. To be a part of a war machine degrades him in his own eyes. The bond which unites him to the Eternal is severed. His conscience is violated. Such acts tend to destroy that which is his real self. What others do to him may pollute or destroy his body, but the soul, the self, they cannot harm. Hence he will endure persecution and calumny rather than himself stain or mar his soul.

But conscientious objection goes further than these personal considerations. It is a part of duty to a democratic State. We are proud of the conscientious objectors who helped start America. The *Mayflower* and the good ship *Welcome* sailed their perilous voyages that conscience might be free. Conformity in worship, not war, was the oppressor of conscience in those days, but the principle of the opposition was the same and inspires the modern movement.

In a democracy the individual citizen is expected to help determine the course of the nation. The supreme individual virtues are initiative and responsiveness in working out the right course together. In an autocracy the individual citizen is expected to work loyally along the lines laid down by his rulers. The supreme individual virtue is obedience. A democracy is no better than an autocracy as long as its citizens as individuals seek only selfish ends or lack the capacity to participate in forming national counsel. Honesty of mind, genuine self-respect, and sensitiveness of conscience are qualities generally found among those able to participate in national life, and it is inevitable that these flower into conscientious objection as soon as oppressive measures threaten the freedom of self. In the present crisis many of our best and most truly loyal must refuse conscription lest the stream of democracy be poisoned at the spring. Others equally worthy, equally conscientious, will fight; but they will realize that in forcing men to act contrary to conscience they attack the very source of individual participation in national life and hasten the end of democracy.

The conscientious objector cannot separate himself from his government and the destinies of his country. His very objection is for his country's sake. Hence his present thought is, "What can I do?" The nation faces awful losses and uncharted dangers. The objector wants to do everything that he possibly can to help. But he

cannot destroy his soul or betray his conception of democracy by fighting.

In the face of the present situation the need of food offers the objector his opportunity. If he helps produce food he gives life instead of taking it. He may even produce food for the army. He feels no ill will toward the soldier and can gladly labor to give him the necessities of his life, even if he cannot work in a munitions factory to give him the necessities of his trade. He realizes, furthermore, that, in those bright days when the war shall cease, full granaries will increase our ability to prove to the people of an hostile land that we are hostile not to them, but to their government only.

If a farmer, the objector goes at his work with renewed energy to make his acres yield their utmost of food. If in some other way of life, in his leisure time he may cultivate a garden. If of military age and free from dependents, he may offer himself to the government for farm labor wherever most needed. "A Conscientious Objectors' Farm Labor Corps" in some form or other deserves government recognition.

The preliminary outline of their plan for a farm-labor corps provides for the enrollment of conscientious objectors of military age for farm work wherever they may be of the most use, payment to be based upon the regular army rates. As it is hardly likely that the government itself will become a farmer, the suggestion has been made that if this plan of payment is adopted the difference between the sums paid to the farm volunteer and the market value of the work he does be devoted to some relief work which the worker or his organization may name.

Quite a large army of workers might be obtained from the application of this plan to the 118,000 Friends, 123,000 Dunkards, or Brethren, and 61,000 Mennonites in the country, not to mention other conscientious objectors; for it is no part of the plan of the Friends to concede the point brought out in the army bill, that conscientious objectors must be confined to religious organizations whose creed prohibits war. As a matter of fact, the Friends have no formal creed; their religion is based primarily on the dictates of conscience, supported, of course, by a large body of testimony.

At schools and colleges students can organize to spend part of their leisure time in agricultural work. In New Jersey the State government is enrolling high-school students as members of the "Junior Industrial Army" and excuses them from school duty. This seems a mistake, for educational work among boys could never be more needed than when we face large possible losses among our young men. If we mobilize the leisure time of school boys and girls, they can make an enormous contribution. Each boarding school and college situated in the country ought to mean an increased production in that neighborhood. At my own institution of 200 students, near Philadelphia, students and teachers pledged 707 hours a week at farm labor.

Other opportunities for real service are also open to conscientious objectors. The most available, because it is already organized, is the American Red Cross. Some cannot conscientiously enter it, because in time of war it is subject to military authority. Others, however, will feel that it is right to relieve suffering. Their labor ministers to the need of the soldier's person, not the needs of his pursuit.

Those objectors who have sufficient technical training might offer themselves for the ship-building work undertaken by the Shipping Board. Stricken Europe, friend and foe, needs the supplies which these boats will carry.

Another field of labor requiring specific training and ability is in the Y. M. C. A. work at training camps. As the war develops, similar work for the social welfare of the people affected will open. The most deplorable conditions already exist in towns active in munitions manufacturing. These menace not only the efficiency, but the morale of America. Should any large internments of aliens become necessary, there will be need, as there has been in England, for social work among them and among their dependents.

There are also other avenues of service, purely personal, incapable of organization; but the sum total of such service is beyond calculation. The President's proclamation called for thrift and economy. The conscientious objector gladly responds, making sacrifices of comfort and convenience. Good cheer must not be lost in the grim business that has come upon us. There is a terrible tension in life which, if unrelieved, saps our vigor. "The days are like weeks and the weeks like years" is the tragic plaint of one sensitive soul. Through emotional excitement men are not themselves. Statements are misunderstood and misquoted. Friends wonder at friends. Life is losing its spirit. Friendship, love, family ties, and the solace of God are needed as never before in this generation. The conscientious objector, though under a greater strain than his neighbor, may do unlimited service by preserving his poise, by keeping fresh his sense of courtesy, of humor, and justice. In ordinary times the nation enjoys such qualities of manhood; in a crisis they are essential, and their preservation is a patriotic service.

PROPOSALS OF INTEREST TO THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

By JAMES BROWN SCOTT

[The following interesting paragraphs are taken from Dr. Scott's report as Director of the Division of International Law to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 20, 1917. The publication of the works referred to in these paragraphs was duly authorized by the Trustees of the Endowment.—THE EDITORS.]

LAST year the Director of the Division published, with the approval of the Executive Committee, Ladd's "Essay on a Congress and a Court of Nations," which he ventured to state as still in his opinion the greatest single literary contribution to the cause of international justice and therefore of international peace. The volume, known to the few, had been lost to the many, but it is now at the elbow of any one who cares to read it, and it is believed that no one can casually consult it without seeing that this simple-minded and unpretentious person, preaching the cause of international justice to an indifferent public, outlined in detail the call, the program, and the procedure of the Hague Peace conferences, and stated in clear and unsurpassed terms the nature and the function of a court of nations in whose establishment and successful operation many people see the hope of the future.

William Ladd was the founder, and in the last year